



LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

TLS

INDEX OF BOOKS REVIEWED

Art:	
G. Diehl: <i>Person</i>	288
K. Michelstadt: <i>Paul Gauguin Self-portraits</i>	288
I. Mullins: <i>Thouges</i>	288
H. Read: <i>ten</i>	288
J. Selz: <i>17th Century Drawings and Water-colours</i>	288
Biography and Memoirs:	
B. R. S. Fane (ed.): <i>An Apology for the Life of Coleridge</i>	292
P. Nevill: <i>My Father's House</i>	292
F. Norrington: <i>Humana Rex</i>	292
F. Swinerton: <i>Reflections from a Village</i>	292
Fiction:	
J. W. Abrahams: <i>The Tenant</i>	287
I. Asquith: <i>Isaac's Mistress</i>	287
J. Hill: <i>Black Easter</i>	287
J. P. Donkay: <i>The Beasts of the Earth</i>	287
M. Dumas: <i>Detour, dit-elle</i>	287
H. Harrison: <i>Deathworld 3</i>	287
P. Highsmith: <i>The Terror of Eugene</i>	287
R. Magdoff (ed.): <i>Russian Science Fiction 1948</i>	287
S. Mollat: <i>Happy Families</i>	286
M. M. M.: <i>Archie</i>	286
D. Morgan and J. Kippax: <i>Thunder of Stars</i>	287
L. Niven: <i>World of Parv</i>	287
A. Panshin: <i>Rite of Passage</i>	287
R. Sheekley: <i>Dimensions of Miracles</i>	287
R. Zelazny (ed.): <i>Nebula Award Stories 3</i>	287
History:	
H. Bird: <i>Attack on Quebec</i>	291
R. Dahrendorf: <i>Society and Democracy in Germany</i>	294
I. M. Hume: <i>1778: Another part of the Field</i>	291
R. A. Humphreys: <i>Tradition and Revolt in Latin America</i>	295
M. Benedetti: <i>Subterfuge y oficio</i>	295

Literature and Literary Criticism:	
W. Blake: <i>The Gates of Paradise</i>	308
S. J. Galsworthy: <i>Blindness</i>	295
J. Hill: <i>Blindness</i>	308
G. K. Jones (ed.): <i>The Letters of William Blake</i>	308
F. R. Leavis and Q. D. Leavis: <i>Lectures in America</i>	297
E. R. Montagu: <i>Vincenzo de' Medici</i>	295
B. R. Poffin: <i>Gabriel Criticism</i>	300
A. Strindberg: <i>The Cretan</i>	290
Misc:	
G. J. Bachelard: <i>Thorough-Bass Accompaniment according to Johann David Heinichen</i>	301
A. Niland: <i>Introduction to the Organ</i>	300
W. C. Smith and C. Humphreys: <i>A Bibliography of The Musical Works published by the firm of John Walsh</i>	303
M. Wilson: <i>The English Chamber Organ</i>	303
Philosophy and Religion:	
G. E. Arnsperg and G. B. Arnsperg: <i>Kierkegaard's Authorship</i>	281
J. Atkinson: <i>Martin Luther and the Birth of Protestantism</i>	306
H. U. von Balthasar: <i>Herzlichkeit: eine theologische Aesthetik</i>	281
H. Chadwick: <i>The Early Church</i>	303
C. E. Curran: <i>A New Look at Christian Atonement</i>	305
R. E. Davies (ed.): <i>We Believe in God</i>	301
B. Dixon (ed.): <i>Journeys in Belief</i>	301
V. Eller: <i>Kierkegaard and Radical Discrepancy</i>	281
A. T. Hart: <i>Clergy and Society 1600-1800</i>	305
C. Humphreys: <i>The Buddhist Way of Life</i>	306
M. L. Hunter: <i>According to John</i>	304
S. Kierkegaard: <i>Armed Neutrality and the Open Letter</i>	281
Steven Kierkegaard's <i>Journals and Papers</i>	281
A. Kojève: <i>Essai d'une histoire raisonnée de la philosophie moderne</i>	309
L. Ling: <i>A History of Religion East and West</i>	301
T. Marsh: <i>The Victorian Church in Decline</i>	307
G. M. M.: <i>Islam and Turkey Towards an Adult Church</i>	296

A. Müller: <i>The New Church and our children</i>	
M. Noll: <i>Numbers</i>	
J. C. O'Hare: <i>Homage to Socratic Man</i>	
R. R. Osborn (ed.): <i>Grounds of Theology</i>	
H. Rahner: <i>Ignatius the Theologian</i>	
A. M. Ramsey: <i>God, Christ and the World</i>	
A. M. Ramsey: <i>Lambeth Essays on Faith and Ministry</i>	
S. Sandmel (ed.): <i>Old Testament Essays</i>	
R. F. Santoni (ed.): <i>Religious Language and the Problem of Religious Knowledge</i>	
L. Simon: <i>Luther Alive: Martin Luther and the Making of the Reformation</i>	
P. Spinoza: <i>Kierkegaard on Christ and Christian Coherence</i>	
J. Thompson: <i>The Lonely Labyrinth</i>	
C. Westermann: <i>Isaiah 40-66</i>	
R. Wurmbrand: <i>Sermons in Solitary Confinement</i>	
R. C. Zaehner: <i>The Dialectic of the Sacred</i>	
Poetry:	
G. Cerametti: <i>Poesie, Documenti, Ricerche</i>	
R. Craxi: <i>Parlato e pubblicato</i>	
E. Pugliese: <i>Lezioni di fisica e metafisica</i>	
R. Polito: <i>Bracciolini</i>	
C. Reing: <i>Oratio tra un den Hans, Sine Inger Marten</i>	
Politics:	
M. Bundy: <i>The Strength of Government</i>	
Reference:	
O. C. Watson (ed.): <i>Longman Latin Language</i>	
Social Studies:	
J. H. Rodrigues: <i>The Brazilians</i>	
World Affairs:	
E. Abel: <i>The Missiles of October</i>	
W. J. Lederer: <i>The Anguished America</i>	

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Public and University Appointments

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THE CHAIRMAN JAMES COOK

The New Zealand Government, to commemorate the 200th anniversary of the birth of James Cook, has established a fund to support research into his life and work. Applications for grants should be sent to the Secretary, James Cook Society, P.O. Box 100, Wellington, New Zealand, by 1st December 1969.

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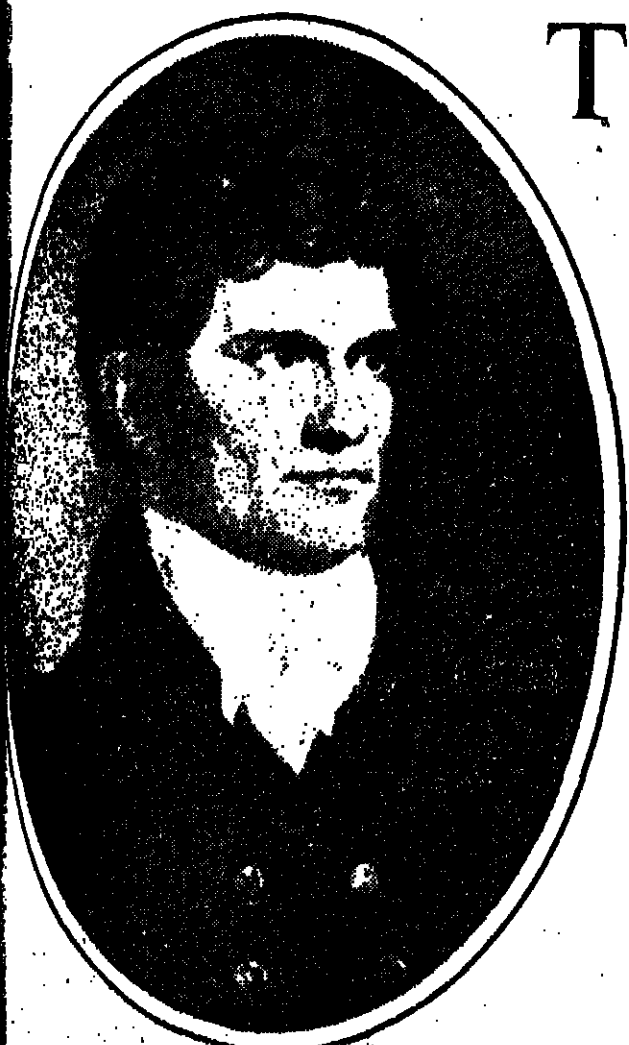
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TLS THE TIMES LITERARY SUPPLEMENT

THURSDAY 27 MARCH 1969 No. 3,500 ONE SHILLING AND SIXPENCE



The ingenious doctrinaire leader of South Carolina



1843 there was published in New York the *Life of John C. Calhoun*, edited by John L. Thomas. It was a biography of the statesman, not a campaign biography prepared for the election of 1843. It was obviously written by the knowledge and approval of Calhoun himself, who had been in the Senate and was aiming at the House. It is still debatable whether this campaign biography, written by Calhoun himself or under his immediate supervision, was simply written by an admirer who interpreted the thoughts and justified the practice of the statesman. South Carolina who had the name of "the Cast Iron State" did not spare praise. He was almost blind to the faults of the statesman, and at times, that he was almost blind to the faults of the statesman, and at times, that he was almost blind to the faults of the statesman.

JOHN L. THOMAS (Editor): *John C. Calhoun: A Profile*, xxiv, 228pp. New York: Hill and Wang, \$5.95. *The Papers of John C. Calhoun*, Vol. I: 1801-1817, xlii, 469pp. Edited by Robert L. Merriweather. Vol. II: 1817-1818, xlv, 513pp. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. Vol. III: 1818-1819, xxxiii, 772pp. Edited by W. Edwin Hemphill. University of South Carolina Press. \$10 each volume.

SOOTHEBY & CO. 34/35 NEW BOND STREET, LONDON, W.1. Tel: 01-235 1234. Fax: 01-235 1235.

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had already taken up by the time he launched his candidacy in 1843, and still more that his deep and pessimistic schemes for saving the Union by importing into the American Constitution the consular system of the Roman Republic was anything but a counsel of despair. But it was not until Calhoun had set himself up as a political thinker and a consistent political thinker that people spent so much time either explaining or explaining away his change of practice and of doctrine.

In a sense, he could have defended himself easily enough. Even in his later years, when he had abandoned his nationalist sentiments, he could justly say he had not abandoned his with that the South and above all South Carolina, should stay in the Union if its rights were recognized, and he could have justified his early nationalism as based on a belief that proved baseless; that these rights would, in fact, be preserved and that the Union would benefit South Carolina and not be an instrument of plunder used against her by the increasingly corrupt politicians; not only of the North but also of the South by Clay as well as by Webster. But to have taken this utilitarian position, to have asserted that he had acted as he had done, when he will believed that "what was good for the United States was good for South Carolina", would have been to discount him from his doctrinal high horse. And the failure of South Carolina in 1852, to get the South to rally to his doctrine of nullification came partly from the fact that the obviousness of the grievances of South Carolina and not the grievances of the whole South that moved Calhoun to action. Even if we accept, as economic history suggests, we should not expect that South Carolina *did* suffer from even fairly respectable protectionism and more from such political gimmicks as "the tariff of abomination", the economic decline of South Carolina, like the economic decline of Virginia, was only in small part the result of tariffs, and perhaps the result not so much of Northern protectionism as of the economic decline of the South.

It was in vain that Jefferson Davis, a man of no subtlety of mind and no critical power, tried to show that Calhoun had been consistent. It was in vain that Calhoun concealed, as far as he could, his differences with President Monroe over the economic powers and ambitions of the Federal government. It was too obvious that the exuberant nationalism of the years before and after the ending of "Mr. Madison's War" or, perhaps more important, before and after Waterloo, could not be reconciled with the attitude he

ALSO IN THIS ISSUE

Militarism in Germany	page 315
Henry-Russell Hitchcock and the Rococo	316
Lévi-Strauss's <i>Elementary Structures of Kinship</i>	321
Adam von Trott's anti-Nazism	322
Ivor Montagu on Eisenstein	323
English and French Communism: books by Kendall, Newton, Duclos, Garaudy	325-6
Linguistics: Umberto Eco and Noam Chomsky	330
Getting into the Creative Act, by Douglas Hewitt	331
Letters from Q. D. Leavis, Geoffrey Gribson, Michael Kitson, G. Singh and others	327-8

economic results of slavery, as of the absence of adequate scientific knowledge and scientific practice to preserve the natural wealth of the seaboard regions of the South.

Yet Calhoun did consider, and not merely as a political gimmick, why the naive democracy of the West and of the North was unsuitable to the cotton South. Whether he held that slavery was a bad system of agriculture or whether a bad system of agriculture demanded slavery to make it workable, makes little difference. Slavery was essential to the organization of South Carolina and only a real revolution could possibly have overthrown it—and even when South Carolina was prostrate after the end of the War Between the States—that revolution did not come.

Calhoun asserted that he saw, and he probably did see, the system of slavery as a necessary and justifiable basis for the society he admired and represented in South Carolina and in other parts of the South. Without adopting any crude "mudmill" theory of politics, he believed, like a modern South African statesman, in the equality of all white men based on the inequality of all black men. True, the equality of all white men was fictitious; but even today a pride in being white consoles the poor white of the South for many actual and painful examples of economic inequality.

We must never forget the Presbyterian ancestry of Calhoun. He was a deist, even more indifferent to organized religion than most American political leaders of that time were. But he saw political and moral problems in a black-and-white fashion which, as has been rightly pointed out, was a political version of Calvinism. Naturally he was one of the elect and perhaps entitled to the liberties of "a justified sinner".

In Professor Thomas's anthology, almost every aspect of Calhoun's doctrine is considered acutely, if not always in a friendly way. There are serious criticisms of his claims to be a consistent thinker which boil down to denying that he was in any real sense a democrat. Indeed, his ideal Greek polity recalls Sparta much more than Athens, although Calhoun did quote Pericles in opposing war. He was an opponent of the rising democracy represented by Andrew Jackson, in a way which can be interpreted as showing his high puritanical political views or his recognition that the political tricks that paid off so well for Andrew Jackson or even for Henry Clay were not available to him.

Thus, he was a bitter and alarmed enemy of the spoils system. The admirably edited selection of his official correspondence as Secretary of War shows him as resistant to many forms of pressure as no other head of the War Department was to be till Mr. McNamara entered the Pentagon. Democracy, meaning the mere omnipotence of the majority, meant also

the plundering of the commonwealth by the spoilsman and exploitation of the ignorant masses by the political betrayers.

Yet there is something refreshing in seeing, in the careful organization of the War Department, the reduction of the easy opportunities for graft which the Madison system had offered. True, even the vigilant Calhoun could be taken for a ride by some of the more exuberant American politicians. There is great comic richness in the campaign of the Johnson family, whose most prominent member was Richard M. Johnson (later Vice-President of the United States, perhaps most famous now for living openly with a Negro mistress) and his brother James. Some of the letters that Richard and James Johnson wrote, asking for repeated advances of large sums of money from the War Department, recall not so much Mr. Micawber as Colonel Sellers. As pieces of promotional literature, they are magnificent. And Professor Hemphill rightly calls our attention to the fact that Henry Clay had no scruples at all in recommending the preposterous Johnson navigation schemes to the War Department or in admitting, when the roof had fallen in four or five years later, that he had known all the time that the Johnsons were insolvent. The testimonials given to cover this raid on the Treasury suggest the wisdom of the old British Civil Service reference form asking the two questions: "Would you recommend this candidate to a friend?" "Would you employ him yourself?" Henry Clay could have answered "yes" to the first question but would have had, if he was even minimally truthful, to have said "no" to the second.

Calhoun was rightly proud of tightening up the book-keeping of the War Department and its application to all of the activities of the Department which included at that time supervision of Indian affairs, and the rigours of the Calhoun book-keeping system, effective as they were in reducing graft to a minimum, were to cause distress, and even financial loss, to more relevantly competent Army officers than Captain U. S. Grant. And the debate about the role of the army in dealing with the Indians, about the control of trade with the Indians, about the dangers of whisky and the danger of malversation of funds show Calhoun's immense industry, although one sympathizes with the defence of Thomas L. McKenney of the monopolization of trade by the Federal government itself.

There are important documents for what were to be extremely important questions—like the westward movement of the Cherokee Indians and the refusal of the enigmatic Croquet to imitate them. Had the Indians consented to leave their ancestral lands, it would have been harder in the next century to build the topless towers of Manhattan. The selections made from the im-

mense Calhoun correspondence reveal not only his activity but also the degree to which rival decisions were passed over the desk of the Secretary of War. Thus, as we are told,

across that desk flowed routine problems as unimportant as Colonel Atkinson's request of the 17th that his soldiers be allowed to wear white belts instead of black ones.

There are offers of new and impracticable weapons from hopeful inventors, British and American. There are remarkable applications for favours. Perhaps the most attractive of these is that made by a resident of Charleston during a yellow fever panic who wished to move out of the city with his children and applied for a job under the War Department that would justify his taking refuge in one of the forts of Charleston Harbor, though he admits he has done nothing to deserve such a favour and, in fact, has not been a particularly good citizen on any count.

Another series of revealing applications are those made for nominations to the now flourishing Military Academy at West Point. We learn how low was the standard of the entrance examination, and of course it had to be low since cadets had to be recruited from all over the United States and, at any rate in the West, the schools system could have provided no sophisticated candidates for entry to the Point. The sponsor of one candidate thought it quite natural to announce that the young man had given up his original college, but proposed to enter the Academy simply because he thought a diploma from West Point would be more marketable; there was no question of his making the army a career. What he wanted was a good, free, technical education.

We have some letters from and to the great Sylvanus Thayer, and something about the dispatch of Captain O'Connor to the Ecole Polytechnique and to the artillery academy at Metz, both institutions on which Major Thayer had modelled the Academy. We have reports from General Simon Bernard, a Napoleonic veteran, and a great deal of correspondence from Calhoun justifying internal improvement for what he expected was inevitable, a third war with Great Britain. The one thing he and his fellow Scotch-Irishman, Andrew Jackson, had in common was hostility, hate and suspicion of England which was, to these Presbyterians of Ulster origin, hardly a stepmother and certainly not a mother country.

Calhoun is rightly commemorated at New Haven in the name of one of the Yale colleges, and it is with pleasure that one reads of his support for Professor Silliman's plan for publishing an important scientific magazine at Yale. Calhoun was a loyal "son of Eli" and could see some virtues in the Yankees, including their superior standards of morality—by

which we must assume that sexual morality is meant.

There are, of course, important constitutional documents here. There is the famous refusal to accept instructions from the state legislature on the ground that the Constitution is a statesman's instructions. There is, in the heated and desperate years of the War of 1812, an intolerance of dissent which recalls some recent periods of American history. Calhoun pointed out that the Roman Republic in wartime did not expect, and did not get, the kind of critical dissent which the United States government got in a war which Calhoun saw, or thought he saw, as a second War of Independence. There are important constitutional documents which illustrate Calhoun's views of the role of the President and, more discreetly, his views on the interpretation of the Constitution. Despite what was later said, Calhoun did take a far more generous view of the "general welfare" than did President Monroe. He had even once voted with Henry Clay to overrule President Monroe and, although Calhoun avoided public dissent from the head of the executive, he obviously differed from him in many important ways.

And there is already looming up, like a shadow on the horizon, the figure of Andrew Jackson. Calhoun disapproved of the tempestuous temperament of Jackson, as Mr. Jefferson had done when he had to observe Senator Jackson choking with anger in the Senate. Calhoun was willing to rebuke Jackson's boldness or breach of discipline in invading Spanish Florida. But he was too adroit to let his dissent from the more tolerant attitude of President Monroe be made public, so that when Jackson afterwards learned from the subtle Van Buren what Calhoun had done, he never forgave him and never trusted him again. Without knowing it, in this period Calhoun had blocked his own way to the White House.

The editing of these volumes is, of course, almost or quite perfect, and the editors are especially helpful in the introductions they give to the problems of each volume and their candid discussion of what documents can be asserted and what documents can only be problematically claimed to be Calhoun's. There are social details which lighten the somewhat oppressive picture of virtuous industry. The otherwise "stern and unbending Federalist", Harrison Gray Otis, acts as Calhoun's agent in getting a place for Mrs. Calhoun. We are told of the complete failure of the polygraph, and the official historian of the War Department is tactfully but firmly corrected on a very important chronological point.

There are clashes with John Randolph of Roanoke, for Calhoun strongly objected to identifying the cause of Great Britain with the cause

of God. Indeed, he was less given to invoking or naming God than a modern American man is forced to be. There is that admirable and uncharacteristic Jacob Brown, quarrelsome General Andrew Jackson, and young General Winfield Scott.

In the next volumes we see Calhoun manoeuvring for thecession to Monroe and on a course, although he does not, not so much with his colleagues Crawford and John Adams as with that high star, Andrew Jackson.

It is impossible to read volumes without being struck by names which predict the great that is to come. There is the Grimes family of Ocala, and of other less famous names like Green Bay, the trading and not a football outpost, and of the great Stevens of Hoboken. In the country, we have the family and the name, familiar to constitutional lawyers of Old Faced with the immense historical letters for which Calhoun only formally responds. Editors inspire complete confidence that they have not degraded a document that would be either the history of the early career of Calhoun.

And the Secretary's activities from promoting systems of education to the suggestion to the South, at any rate, to the had better be fed on "hominin" than on beef. It is an exaggeration to say that much personal human history from the disaster of the dark little daughter in Calhoun's biography of the Second World War is illustrated here, but there is to diminish the belief of Southern statesmen that Calhoun was one of the greatest of American statesmen. Surely no one reading this volume is much to his discredit. I thought himself more pious than any other man has ever been? And although Calhoun's edition of his works was a respectable production for the nineteenth century, it is totally seduced by this admirable collection of scholarship and good judgment.

There is perhaps something of the future failure of a man in the failure, for such it is, of the Lewis and Clark expedition which triumphantly reached the Pacific. The Long expedition, 1817, at the hands of the military chiefs during the War of 1812, that story is fast and important; it has never been told so dramatically told. The mystery of his German and foreign, was unbroken, and his narrative skill is this great history. But quite the history we had

in this process, this final phase a single clear theme. That the struggle by Belknap to retain control of German and with his eventual defeat, 1817, at the hands of the military chiefs during the War of 1812, that story is fast and important; it has never been told so dramatically told. The mystery of his German and foreign, was unbroken, and his narrative skill is this great history. But quite the history we had



Kaiser Wilhelm II in conference with Hindenburg (left) and Ludendorff.

The State and the soldiers

GERHARD RITTER: *Staatskunst und Kriegshandwerk. Das Problem des "Militarismus" in Deutschland. Volume 4, 586pp. Munich: Oldenbourg. DM 48.*

Any doubts that they might have had on the question were set at rest by the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk, which belied all German professions of their acceptance of the principle of self-determination. Brest-Litovsk, as Ritter points out, showed "where the final decision in the German political system really lay: not with the Reichstag, not even with the Kaiser and the Chancellor, but with Ludendorff".

The war aims of Ludendorff and the High Command remained unaltered until the last few weeks of the war. In the east they included the annexation of Courland, Lithuania, and Poland virtually to the Vistula, and military government in those areas until they had been settled with German colonists. In the west they involved the virtual annexation of Belgium (Ludendorff would have added Holland as well), the improvement of the frontier of Alsace-Lorraine, and the annexation of the ore-bearing districts round Longwy and Briey which had been overlooked in 1871. Of these objectives, the only one which would have commanded massive support in Germany was the retention of the Reichsland, Alsace-Lorraine. There were powerful influences outside the Army who, as Professor Fischer and more recently Professor Fischer have reminded us, supported the retention of Belgium; but the majority parties in the Reichstag emphatically did not, and neither did the successive chancellors. For the British, as for the Vatican, a clear statement of their intention to restore Belgium independence was regarded as the indispensable preliminary to any serious negotiation for peace. The German failure to make a statement was rightly taken, both outside Germany and within, to indicate the impotence of the political groups who were prepared to consider making peace on any terms short of an increasingly improbable total victory.

The irony of the situation was that, during this period of his political dominance, Ludendorff did not really speak with the authority of a military expert. Wiser military heads than his—Prince Rupprecht, Groener, Hoffmann among them—had realized by the end of 1917 that the High Command had set itself objectives which it no longer had the military capacity to attain. Civilians who had the opportunity of touring the field headquarters on the Western Front came back with very different information from that emanating from Kreuznach or Spa. If military opinion alone had to be considered, a resolute Kaiser might not have found it impossible, while retaining the irreplaceably charismatic Hindenburg, to have replaced Ludendorff with a far more competent and reliable man; which ultimately he was to do, though only when it was far too late. Ludendorff no longer spoke for "the Army"; certainly not for the Army on the Western Front.

Ludendorff's power lay elsewhere. In the twentieth century the nature of German militarism had changed. In the nineteenth century it was the Reichstag that did not

the dominant social position of the Officer Corps or the dominant political role played at the Imperial Court by the Chief of the Military Cabinet and the Chief of the General Staff. It is misleading to see in the conflict between Ludendorff and Bethmann-Hollweg simply a replay of the matches which Moltke had lost to Bismarck in 1866 and 1870. With the development of heavy industry, the increase in population and the growth in political consciousness of the masses, the entire dimensions of the problem had been transformed. The German middle and working-class voter brought more power to both sides. The Fatherland Front, formed during the war to counter the liberal-pacifistic tendencies of the Reichstag majority parties, numbered more than a million active members drawn from all classes of society. German militarism now consisted, not in the political dominance of the military elite, but in the dissemination of militaristic attitudes among powerful groups in all social classes.

This was where Ludendorff's real strength lay. He had defeated Bethmann-Hollweg, not by manoeuvres at Court, but by eroding the basis of his political support in the Reichstag. When Kuhlmann attempted to negotiate peace terms at Brest-Litovsk instead of imposing a *Diktat*, Ludendorff organized a flood of telegrams to the Kaiser protesting against the *Judenfriede*. He had staunch allies in the Reichstag, in heavy industry and commerce and among the broad masses of the people for whom the Kaiser meant little, the Chancellor nothing, but the great figure of Hindenburg—his wooden statue dominating totem-like every market square—all. The German people themselves were deeply divided between Left and Right, and the division grew more bitter with every war month that passed. Ludendorff's own collapse was therefore only an episode in the history of German militarism, not the end of it. The phenomenon remained strong and active in spite of—indeed because of—military defeat. The political movements it inspired would find new and more competent leaders.

Professor Ritter's study, masterly as it is, thus ends by disappointing us: not because it stops short of its logical conclusion, but because as the subject broadens out, his treatment of it becomes increasingly narrow. Too much of this volume is pure diplomatic and political history, tracing in detail the course of complex and abortive peace negotiations, adjudicating with exemplary fairness where responsibility for their failure lay. One need not accept all Professor Fritz Fischer's conclusions to acknowledge that the sources which he tapped in his study *Griff nach der Weltmacht*—commercial, political, journalistic, academic—tell us more about the nature of German militarism during the First World War than do the diplomatic and official archives on which Professor Ritter based so much of his study. One can appreciate the shock which Ritter must have suffered when Fischer revealed how broadly the values of militarism appeared, in the eyes of scholars of another generation, to have extended in Wilhelmine Germany; even among the men whom he most admired and whose ideals, indeed, he himself shared.



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what half-hearted race riot. However much this might sound like a blurpwriter's idea of paradise, the poem involved always manage to stay just on this side of the banal, assisted by the author's patently sincere concern over the wider social questions he raises. For the novel is set not in America but in Canada and it is with the Canadian Indians that Maxwell Newton's sympathies lie—a fact which he manages to make evident without appearing to hold up the narrative for a short lecture. Given the overall structure of the novel, this is as noteworthy an achievement as the deft characterization which, amazingly, turns puppets into people, and, in a sense, could not

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Jonson in theory and practice

JOHN C. MEAGHER: *Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques*. 186pp. University of Notre Dame Press. (American University Publishers Group). £3 2s.

LARRY S. CHAMPION: *Ben Jonson's "Dotages"*. 156pp. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. \$6.50.

GABRIEL BERNHARD JACKSON: *Vision and Judgment in Ben Jonson's Drama*. 178pp. Yale University Press. £2 14s.

When Hazlitt, in 1819, wrote of Jonson that "his genius... resembles the grub more than the butterfly, plods and grovels on, wants wings to wanton in the idle summer's air, and catch the golden light of poetry", his strictures stood in the central line of criticism. Jonson, for all his learning, could not sing. Nearly a century later the note is the same. "He put nothing into his plays which patient criticism may not extract: the wand of the enchanter has not passed over them"; the voice is that of John Addington Symonds. The sudden proliferation of Jonson studies since 1940 and the dazzling diversity of critical opinion make the simple appreciations of Symonds and Hazlitt seem very far away; much further, indeed, than Jonson himself, for the striking thing, in a rereading of the plays and the masques, is the modernity and immediacy of Jonson's art. And above all, its integrity. The creative achievement is all of a piece, the relationship of critical theory to dramatic practice is rigorously, almost ruthlessly, close.

Integrity is the keynote of these three recent studies of quite different aspects of Jonson's art. It is a measure of the rapid development of Jonson scholarship that Mr. John Meagher's book, *Method and Meaning in Jonson's Masques*, can concentrate on the relationship between form and content in a selection from Jonson's total output. Herford and Simpson's edition of the masques did not appear until 1941, and the standard work on the subject, Stephen Orgel's *The Jonsonian Masque*, is as recent as 1965. Mr. Meagher's general aim is to set the masques "in their rather complicated context in order to elucidate their meaning and explicate their design", and his opening chapter is a study of "Backgrounds". He charts clearly and usefully Jonson's English antecedents, and pays proper attention to the crucial importance of Beaujoyeulx's *Ballet Comique*. For the scholars there are some nice speculations on the activities of the mysterious Dr. John Gordon in this connexion, though they will probably also note the discrepancy between the dates given for the first edition of "The Masque of the Adamanine Rock" in the text and the notes.

The second chapter documents Jonson's intention that his masques should be "nourishing and sound meats", and Mr. Meagher skillfully traces the general shape of the Jonsonian masque and indicates the ethical and mythological depth of its poetic design. The following chapters on "Music", "Dance", and "Light" are in a higher gear and seem to be addressed to a much more informed audience. Few, even among specialist scholars, will move easily from the musician Coperario to the dances of Fabrizio Caroso without rather more illustrative material than Mr. Meagher permits himself. But when he turns to the masques themselves, in the last three chapters, he displays a very considerable ability to make rough places plain. His account of *Hymenaeus*, though it depends to a large extent on Professor Gordon's analysis, is a model of lucid exposition and offers a full introduction to anyone approaching the text for the first time. Indeed, many readers may wish to take these last three chapters first. The book is meticulously and accurately documented, and the notes are themselves a guarantee of the author's serious and informed scholarship.

By contrast, Mr. Larry Champion, in *Ben Jonson's "Dotages"*, takes what appears to be a much more modest aim. He offers to vindicate Jonson's last four plays from Dryden's dismissive verdict—"his last plays were but dotages"—by demonstrating the precision with

which they were constructed according to a consistent, unchanging theory. It is certainly true, these plays were revalued, and Mr. Champion's argument is clever. He begins by conceding all the obvious points: the plays are obviously less great than Jonson's major comedies, they conform rigidly to the principles of the five-act structure, the plotting may be over-ingenious, and he does not offer "to defend these works as effective stage plays". His point is that they are everywhere totally consistent with what Jonson the critic declared a play should be. He links the dramatist's practice very closely with his theoretical pronouncements on his art, especially in *Discoveries*, and shows how Jonson's work, throughout his life, is based on certain principles which remain static, and certain fixed comic patterns carried relentlessly through as the fashions in drama range from the "humour" plays to the neo-Platonic romances of Henrietta Maria's court.

The analysis of the comic patterns is close and convincing. In discussing *The Staple of News*, for example, Mr. Champion shows how Jonson's techniques are his traditional ones:

The theme is that moderation is the key, not to the kingdom of God, but to the kingdom of reason. . . . To this end he uses three devices of his earlier comedies to guide his audience—the pointed, instructional prologue and epilogue, the additional machinery of the intercalary activity, and the character within the main plot who consciously serves as comic pointer.

These devices direct the audience's attention to the basic fable of the play—a version of the Prodigal Son theme—and the point enforces Mr. Champion's verdict:

The probing, reshaping, and expounding in this adaptation deserves more than the label of "dotage". Even if the result is no longer the sparkling wit of Jonson's middle-period plays, the comic intent is equally stable.

The thorniest ground for Mr. Champion's thesis lies in *The New Inn*. Contemporary critics were especially severe on it and posterity has been no kinder. After an account of the immediate critical reception (in which he unfortunately attributes to John Cleveland a poem which he certainly never wrote), Mr. Champion goes on to suggest that the play is sharply and continuously ironic, a satiric attack on the cult of platonic love. Certainly the lawlessness of the cult would have been anathema to Jonson, but, as Mr. Champion honourably admits, much of his commentary "is matter which one would garner from an armchair reading, not witnessing an actual performance of *The New Inn*". The modest proposal with which the book concludes is certain to command a wide assent:

... the aging poet stands firm in his support of satiric comedy despite the extravagant romantic trend of late Jacobean and Caroline drama. Second, he rigidly retains his neoclassical practices in the construction of plot. And third, his work is artistically of a piece; the comic intent of the final plays is demonstrably consistent with that of his acclaimed masterpieces.

One could wish that Mr. Champion had gone further and made some claims for the language of these plays, which is often as rich and suggestive as Jonson's best.

Jonson's artistic integrity emerges most strongly from Gabriele Bernhardt Jackson's study, *Vision and Judgment in Ben Jonson's Drama*. This is a most impressive account of the high claims Jonson made for poetry as the revelation of Truth, and for himself as the "poet" who is simultaneously visionary and judge. She begins with the parallel development between the early comedies and the critical theory as expressed especially in the *Discoveries*, and goes on to examine Jonson's "fictional artists", Knowell junior, Ovid, Calpurnius, and Cicero, Asper, and the

central to her idea of these characters and their principles is the view that

the peculiar strength of Jonson is that he combines a reliance on the metaphysical, the not-quite-communicable vision, the absolute Truth and Order, with incorruptible common sense, relentless logic, an overwhelming sense of the ludicrous.

One of her main concerns is the logical and conditioned "patterning" of all Jonson's plays to point she shares with Mr. Champion, and, typically, she states her view firmly:

To trace the implications of the overall patterns which recur in all Jonson's plays, regardless of individual plot, is to outline his picture of a subtle universe and the principles on which it is ordered. . . . Jonson's plots are concerned with three principal themes: the discovery of real relationships, the curing of wrong-headedness, and the exposure of egotism. . . . Every play Jonson ever wrote revolves around some combination of these three central issues.

Nothing doubting, nothing tentative. She finds Truth in the patterns of the plays, in the truthful names given to the characters (this is one of the most exciting sections of the book), in the truth of circumstance (noting the rarity and significance of coincidence in the plays), and in the truthful setting. Later chapters include a long (perhaps too long) discussion of Jonson's concept of "nobility", an analysis of his characters' attitude towards money, and their fascination with the playing of games. These sections are full of fine and sensitive insights. Less valuable, perhaps, is her discussion of Jonson's language, his puns, and his alliteration. There is little to add here to what Edward Partridge has already told us, and where she exceeds him she is least convincing.

Mrs. Jackson's real achievement lies in her intelligent originality and critical vigour. She is never afraid of the great, swinging generaliza-

tion. "Everybody in Jonson's world", she says, and

Polonius is "The Play of Wit", "versely, only those not called so, *Candide* is 'The Play of Wit'". Those who do not read Jonson's *The Alchemist* is the Play of Wit, most committed to art as to life. Such statements are personally challenging, and only as Mrs. Jackson reads tactics:

The sum of all the practical drama by Jonson is the truth that Nature aligns appearance with reality, and the corollary that alignment must be the fault of or to precisely:

A noble profession, poetry, Jonson; and as always, nobility. These are the defects of Jonson's plays, and the energy and surplus Jackson brings to her task over any such surface blazon is an original, continuous assessment of the whole of Jonson's achievement: a clear judgment, and wise.

Wieland

The fifth volume of the Martin Wieland's *Werk* by Fritz Martin and Hans Seiffert, 893pp., DM42.50. The Hanser Verlag's edition from the works of Wieland and other writers well as Wieland's translations of Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Dream*, Ovid's *Art of Love*, Lucian's *True History*, indexes, bibliographies and postscript increase the usefulness of the volume. This new edition does much to rehabilitate whose vital contribution to the history of literature is only too often overlooked.

These questions reveal how he is indebted to Luther, Schlegel, Wedde, Herrmann, and other writers. But English readers unfamiliar with these names need not be put off. Wieland tells his readers enough to make his sources and his opponents his allusions intelligible. As W. Funk says in his introduction, "his gross ignorance of his theological ancestry" does not mean that his views are profound and provoking, but they may also

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made available to English readers in an excellent translation by Robert Smith were written between 1924 and 1933. They represent exactly "the early Bullmann's" as it were, Bullmann's early stage of his career. Part of the secret of Bullmann's influence is disclosed in a collection: one sees that he has faced the big questions into sharp questions which no one could ignore. What pre-occupation of God is necessary or possible in the light of the historical Jesus? Is there a Christian ethic? Does God begin in the words of faith, and what is its purpose? What are we to do of the eschatology of the gospel? Can we accept the historicity of the miracles, and if not, significance have they for us? What were the views of St. Paul on these matters?

These are questions which Bullmann answers in a way which is indebted to Luther, Schlegel, Wedde, Herrmann, and other writers. But English readers unfamiliar with these names need not be put off. Bullmann tells his readers enough to make his sources and his opponents his allusions intelligible. As W. Funk says in his introduction, "his gross ignorance of his theological ancestry" does not mean that his views are profound and provoking, but they may also

provoke some anxiety. One sees, a powerful mind at work reinterpreting the Christian message by rejecting or criticizing the views of Dilthey, J. Weiss, Hirsch, Bousset, and so on, and one cannot help wondering again and again what, after all, the Christian faith turns out to be as Bullmann himself interprets it. How long will he command agreement even within his own circle? Minor reactions have occurred already. If his professional prose can be expressed in language comprehensible to the common man (about whom he is rightly concerned), will the common man be drawn to repentance and faith? Is the self-understanding of "world" which Bullmann seeks to alter still there to be altered?

He reacts vigorously against the liberal view of Christianity as consisting essentially in the imitation of the historical Jesus pictured as an attractive personality. The early community, he says, "did not preserve an image of the personality of Jesus at all". Faith is simply the acceptance of Jesus as the Word of God, and paradoxically the main content of the Word is that Jesus is the Word—that in him God addresses us, offering us forgiveness. Christianity is believing and being forgiven. It is the ever-repeated acceptance of God's Word of forgiveness. What Jesus taught during his earthly ministry is not essential to Christianity: St. John and St. Paul record little of it. From his own teacher, W. Herrmann, Bullmann accepts the view that Christianity has no ethic of its own.

These radical views are intelligible as a reaction from liberal theology in the period of exhaustion following the failure of the nineteenth-century Quest. But can we be satisfied with such a colourless, abstract Christianity? In the first halves of the book, St. Matthew gives us a sketch of the Christian character, which we can then contemplate in the Jesus described in later chapters of the gospel. Unsympathetic as the people are able to form from the gospel definite ideas of the Christian character. They will say with assurance that this person is Christlike and that one is not. They believe that their sins are forgiven and that somehow

God, the nature of unregenerate man, the divine self-expression, and the discipline. This makes it plain that Bullmann's, and the religion which he founded, theologically fit squarely within the broader tradition of Hindu bhakti: there is little evidence of direct Muslim influence, Sufi or otherwise. In addition to a general index and glossary there is also a biographical and doctrinal index. There appears to be nothing lacking in *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*.

That it should turn out that so little of the life of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, is actually known may be disappointing. If so, it is amply compensated for by Dr. McLeod's assurance that the doctrines of Guru Nanak contained in the *Adi-Granth* can be confidently accepted as genuine, and this is after all what matters. For good measure Dr. McLeod gives an admirable account of the Guru's teachings, lucidly arranged according to subject-matter under four headings: the nature of

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the historical Nanak

Dr. McLeod: *Guru Nanak and the Sikh Religion*. 259pp. London Press: Oxford University Press. £2 10s.

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the most space (147 pages) is devoted to the life of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, is actually known may be disappointing. If so, it is amply compensated for by Dr. McLeod's assurance that the doctrines of Guru Nanak contained in the *Adi-Granth* can be confidently accepted as genuine, and this is after all what matters. For good measure Dr. McLeod gives an admirable account of the Guru's teachings, lucidly arranged according to subject-matter under four headings: the nature of

Ten-minute sermons

J. W. C. WAND: *Reflections on The Gospels*. 177pp. A. R. Mowbray. 25s.

How sadly often, when a congregation is leaving a church, can voices be heard lamenting the undue length of the sermon, though it may have been a mere twenty or at the most twenty-five minutes. In fact we are much better off than our ancestors who had to balance on the same hard seats for close on an hour, and the verger's long wand was, it is said, used for rousing sleepers. But if the complainers would reflect upon what they have endured from after-dinner speakers, laymen at that, it might occur to them that the short speech is an extremely difficult art. Most men can waffle for half an hour, especially when they have left their notes in their other jacket, but to say something worthwhile in ten minutes or so is another matter altogether. The counsel who can win a case with an allowance of ten minutes only is not a common phenomenon in the courts. It would involve a very sure mastery of his brief. Polonius knew all about brevity, but, possibly, like

some of the clergy, he was commending it to other speakers. Bishop Wand's books on the Collects, Epistles and Gospels of the Book of Common Prayer are models of that kind, for they are models of what such things should be, but of course the editor of the *Church Times* had set him a limit: "One column only, my Lord, please." But how admirably he has accepted the challenge! How skillfully he decides precisely what he is going to say! How exactly he brings his learning to bear! But above all, how firmly he has grasped the totality of the Christian Gospel!

Without that grasp the thing could not have been done at all. He sees, in *Reflections on The Gospels* as in his other books, that what he has to say about a particular passage must have its place in the whole body of theology, so that it will not become simply a detached comment on a passage of scripture but something that accurately belongs to the Faith. He is quite clear that his readers must be aware that they are being presented not with a few random ideas loosely strung but with the whole Faith, even if they only have to listen for ten minutes.

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THAMES AND HUDSON

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THAMES AND HUDSON

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Troubled resistance

CHRISTOPHER SYKES: *Troubled Loyalty*. 477pp. Collins. £2.5s.

The literature of the resistance to Hitler grows apace, but it is still difficult to form a fair picture of what it was and of the reasons for the course it took. The English reader may perhaps be forgiven, in default of a definitive study, for writing off German resistance as one of the non-events of the twentieth century, and for a headlong suspicion that the survivors of the Thousand-Year Reich have, if not invented, at any rate set rolling a bandwagon that nobody heard of during the twelve years of the Reich's actual existence. Even short of this, extreme, he will approach Mr. Sykes's study of Adam von Trott zu Solz, *Troubled Loyalty*, with considerable caution. Here was a man who undoubtedly opposed Hitler; and his life, with its tragic end, is worth the telling. But can it really be true, as the blurb would have us believe, that "the triumph through sacrifice of a handful of brave men over the vast, murderous forces of evil is more moving, more magnificent, in the end more decisive, than any military victory"? That "von Trott, Stauffenberg, Bonhoeffer, Helmuth von Moltke... are great and glorious names in the history of Germany and Europe, shining more brilliantly as the years pass"? There lurks a nasty suspicion that, even if the scattered, ill-coordinated and incompetent conspiracies against the Nazi regime had by some miracle succeeded, the *furor Teutonicus* would by no means have thereby been exorcised.

For all his sensitive appreciation of Adam von Trott's complex character, Mr. Sykes, it must be confessed, does not succeed in dispelling this suspicion. Von Trott, as he says, was a patriot and a nationalist. It is all very well to define his nationalism as that "of a pre-Bismarckian kind which, under Prussian leadership, had made German language, literature

and culture a great and often beneficent [sic] influence in all Eastern Europe, the Baltic lands, and the Russian Empire" and to plead that "if it was ascriptive, this does not mean that the warlike traditions of Prussia... had made it aggressive or bellicose in essence, or inimical to international concord". We nevertheless find him, after the rape of Czechoslovakia in 1939, talking at the "restriction of Germany's natural development" by "the whole postwar policy of the Powers and by the recent attempts of British diplomacy"—that natural development "for which every German has within himself an elemental feeling derived from historical experience"—and saying (to Halifax and Astor) that "in the end the only way left to us is the use of force". He seemed, said William Douglas-Horne who was present,

to be trying to impress upon the Ministers the necessity for an immediate adjustment to the *status quo*. ... Listening to him, I understood how it was that so many Germans, loathing and despising Hitler as they did, yet felt that in his insistence on the rights of Germany, he was voicing the wishes of his people.

Von Trott, Mr. Sykes assures us, had set himself in 1939 no less a task than to prevent the outbreak of war in Europe (with what Sir John Wheeler-Bennett has so aptly described as a "false sense of realism and a belief in power politics and his own part in them"); one cannot escape the feeling, however, that what horrified him was not so much a war as a war that Germany could not win. Certainly no casuistry can avert the conclusion that his revisionist Nazi methods was not at all incompatible with a desire to see a new Germany retain what they had so far gained: Austria, "the greatest success so far of our new policy", as he wrote to his parents, and Prague, "a German city". Mr. Sykes, admitting the force of this, nevertheless asks us not to overlook the realities which the opposition

would have had to face had they taken over from the Nazis: with memories of the *Dolchstoß* of 1918; what hope had anti-Nazis of being able to form a German Government enjoying massive popular support, if they appeared before the people as men who really had stabbed the truly victorious Führer in the back? ... But if they could come with gains in their hands, above all with the gain of a rectified Polish frontier, then surely the leaders of the counter-revolution had some chance of democratic acclaim.

He is right to say this is no trivial argument. But it is difficult for us not to share Hubert Ripka's passionate indignation when he finds von Trott's anti-Nazi plan for peace in the summer of 1939 consists of restoring the independence of Czechoslovakia, exclusive of the Sudetenland, at the expense of Poland, "presumably by a readjustment of the Corridor frontier".

When we reflect that this plan in fact originated in the crafty brain of Weizsäcker (whose opposition to Hitler's policy of aggression has been shown to have been solely because he thought the risks were too great, and whose "resistance" existed only in retrospect at Nuremberg) then we must take leave to doubt whether von Trott, his colleagues in the Kreisau Circle, Beck, von Schlabrendorff, von Hassell and the rest, still less the Johnny-come-lately like Rommel and von Kluge, would really, once in power, have led a Germany essentially different from that of the Nazis.

To say this is no disparagement of very brave men. Von Trott himself, though taking no prominent part in the higher councils of the opposition, showed great, at times almost reckless, courage during the war years, both on his visits abroad and in helping victims of Nazi persecution; and although he was not directly involved in the plot of July 20, 1944, he paid with his life for his connexion with the conspirators. Mr. Sykes has told his story well. That there remains, for one reader at least, a sense of un-

reality about *Troubled Loyalty* stems first from the biographer's failure to place von Trott and the opposition, generally in the true perspective of that unique phenomenon which was the German resistance, the second from what must be admitted to be his inadequate knowledge of both the language and the character of Germany. (His gratitude to Mr. Harold Kurtz for "help in translation and interpretation of many of the German documents" is misplaced, for there are regrettably a number of mistranslations, sometimes with explanatory footnotes which succeed only in making the confusion more secure, to say nothing of the "Chaplin" and "Sippenhaft" in *Lebensrecht*.) When the details of German resistance are written on the vine will be right to be the responsibility of many themselves and not Sykes tends to have in his mind the continuing squabbles which threaten to grow a *Dolchstoß* and potentially of more influence than that of 1918.

Setting sun

Historical Memoirs of the Duc de Saint-Simon. Vol. II: 1710-1715. Edited and Translated by Lucy Norton. 524pp. Hamish Hamilton. £3.10s.

The second volume of Miss Norton's admirable translation of the pick of Saint-Simon is even better reading than the first, which appeared in 1967. The period from 1710-1715, which it covers, allowed Saint-Simon the fullest scope for that combination of insight and malice which gives his memoirs their unique touch. The self-important, sprightly, little Duke was fully alive to all the drama of a situation in which he played an important, if secondary, role. As the reign of Louis XIV, which had already lasted almost seventy years, drew to its close, the prospect of a new king and a new era came to dominate the minds of his courtiers.

From the historian's point of view, Saint-Simon's account of these years is perhaps his most valuable contribution: despite his prejudices, he conveys the extraordinary atmosphere of Versailles at this time with enormous conviction. No official documents could compete with the *Memoirs* in this evocation of attitudes and feelings. Miss Norton has made a very judicious selection from the self-indulgent original, and her translation continues to catch its essential spirit.

Now that military and diplomatic success had deserted the Sun King, the members of his entourage were busy discussing the faults of his rule. Louis himself had never lost the distrust of the *noblesse d'épée* instilled by the Fronde, and had crushed their pretensions, to both local autonomy and a share in government. But he had not thought to isolate his successors from noble company, and the thwarted ambitions of decades past coalesced around them. Saint-Simon himself understood very well what was going on: he saw that the King was playing off the different social groups against one another. As he says in his account of the quarrel between the Dukes and the Parliament of Paris:

King Louis liked to reduce and lower the due authority by every means in his power, and such quarrels did not displease him. He preferred not to intervene, but rather to let them continue, hoping that the rift might become more permanent, leaving both sides the more dependent upon himself.

But Saint-Simon was to prove a poor adviser for the utility of historical analysis as a guide to practical politics: he could not compensate for the lack of ability and experience in

government among the nobility. Many of the political movements during these years—the result of the appalling series which carried off the Regent, and great-grandson of Saint-Simon's dream of a peaceful transition into the strange societies when the Duc de Bourgogne, the Dauphin, and in one day, the last of the Bourbon line, died—were the fullest scope for that combination of insight and malice which gives his memoirs their unique touch. The self-important, sprightly, little Duke was fully alive to all the drama of a situation in which he played an important, if secondary, role. As the reign of Louis XIV, which had already lasted almost seventy years, drew to its close, the prospect of a new king and a new era came to dominate the minds of his courtiers.

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Sar of the silver screen

MONTAGU: *With Eisenstein*. 356pp. Berlin: Seaside Publishers. Distributed by Collets. 6s.

Kindly and admirable book which fills the gap in the otherwise total documentation of Eisenstein and his colleagues in the Mexican expedition, the continuing squabbles which threatened to grow a *Dolchstoß* and potentially of more influence than that of 1918.

My joy kept breaking in. Among such reflections, I could not help but feel that I might still recover, and that I was in the same predicament as the Russian friends, and he was deeply committed to them, with them, has succeeded in a vivid—sometimes almost over-rendering of what went

of course in many senses a place. The Hollywood of the 1930s and 1940s, with its stars and its scandals, was a world of its own. Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford, Chaplin and Duro—no longer exists, save in the memory of those who were there. The luxury and romance, the bargaining and the treachery, have to be seen in the harsh glare of reality.

Montagu's cheerful description of what happened here to his "innocents", no less than his account of why, is very enlightening. Apart from some extremely good anecdotes there are a number of explanations of the projects on which Eisenstein and his colleagues embarked. Mr. Montagu summarizes the generalities of the situation as follows:

... thing that is certain is that all eyes were turned to the studio and saw Selznick. The young man had only heard the bare facts by telephone and wanted to hear the details. When I had finished he said, his eyes glistening, "Isn't Mr. Schulberg wonderful? He waits and waits and chooses the right moment to strike, and always gets his own way."

So much for the maker of *Strike*, *Battleship Potemkin*, *October* and *The General Line*.



The conference of cineastes at La Sarraz, Switzerland, in 1929. Seated, left to right: Ruttmann, Robert Aron, Moussinac, Tissé, Eisenstein, Janine Bonissommes, Richter, Balázs. Standing behind Eisenstein: Alexandrov, Ivor Montagu, Jack Isaacs.

prepared by the Eisenstein group—both for the first time printed in full and well worth careful study—it is clear that *Sutter's Gold* was destroyed by tribal rivalry and *An American Tragedy* by political fears—namely, those aroused by the activities of Hamilton Fish, a precursor of Senators MacCarran, McCarthy and others of the Un-American Activities Committee.

Both scenarios make fascinating reading. *Sutter's Gold* is poetic, compulsive, essentially cinematic. Eisenstein, as Mr. Montagu points out, devised his scenarios as, in a measure, prose poems. ... carefully laid out and timed to enable the reader to visualize the succession of images that the film was to comprise.

The scenario of *An American Tragedy*, on the other hand, is altogether more staid. Apart from a few special touches it reads more like a successful studio adaptation than Eisenstein. This does not prevent it being a compelling distillation of the original novel; and indeed one may guess that it would have been much more likely to succeed with Lucky, who might have gone ahead had he not been scared off by the red-baiters. Indeed, a year later the book was filmed by von Sternberg, and in 1951 it was made again by George Stevens under the title of *A Place in the Sun*. The fact that Eisenstein's treatment reads less excitingly than *Sutter's Gold* may be due partly to the great pressure under which he and his team were working and partly, too, to

Dreiser's novel being in Montagu's words "one of the stodgiest great books of literature". One of the most attractive things about *With Eisenstein in Hollywood* is that a serious attitude to the importance of the work in hand is balanced against a humorous appreciation of the local scene ("Douglas Fairbanks received me immediately and within a few minutes I was in his Turkish bath"). There is also a very perceptive study of Chaplin, who was always a generous host to Eisenstein, Alexandrov and Tissé. For Ivor Montagu Charlie can do no wrong and his praise can do no harm. Eisenstein himself wrote in later days:

Chaplin, of course, was already a law unto himself; but anyone else who has come up against the unyielding conservatism of the front offices of the entertainment world will appreciate Mr. Montagu's description of his Hollywood negotiations. Looking back on them over the years he may perhaps see in them an element of comedy which must have eluded him at the time:

When I got back from Hollywood immediately after the seeking I went to the studio and saw Selznick. The young man had only heard the bare facts by telephone and wanted to hear the details. When I had finished he said, his eyes glistening, "Isn't Mr. Schulberg wonderful? He waits and waits and chooses the right moment to strike, and always gets his own way."

This and Samuel Goldwyn's request, after viewing *Battleship Potemkin*, for Eisenstein to do "something of the same kind, but rather cheaper for Ronald Colman" may explain—though with various Stalin-like whims—why his reputation rests upon "a smaller completed oeuvre than that of any other major film maker, except perhaps Dovzhenko and, certainly, Vigo".

Thus the author does not forget to stress the role of Eisenstein as a Leonardo or Renaissance man; and indeed it is true that he, with his insatiable interest in everything, suffered like Leonardo at the hands of patrons and politicians. Eisenstein's passionate attempts to create a universal theory of montage was perhaps a preoccupation as absorbing as Leonardo's about water and its movement; and it is Mr. Montagu's placing of this against the problem of negotiation with Hollywood which gives *With Eisenstein in Hollywood* a certain poignancy.

It must be added that one is given a fair—indeed a compassionate—summary of all the causes of the Mexican tragedy (for tragedy it truly was to Eisenstein). For the first time someone has explained sympathetically the impossible position into which Upton Sinclair got himself entirely through his ignorance of film. Incidentally, the cover photograph—reproduced above—is a group taken at the famous avant-garde meeting at La Sarraz in 1929—fantastically identified only a handful of those present.

Producer's part

MICHAEL BALCON: *A Lifetime of Film*. 239pp. Hutchinson. £2.10s.

"What can be done?" asks Sir Michael in the final and most provocative chapter of an uninspiring memoir. He is talking about the growing American influence on British film production (usually disguised under the sobriquet "Anglo-American").

Sir Michael's remedies—tougher governmental policy towards the virtual oligopoly in the two major cinema circuits and a state-sponsored film corporation which would back independent, home-grown productions—have been mooted before: at greater length and with more cogency. But the author hits his targets with uncharacteristic passion and here, at least, there is a venom and vitality which is lamentably lacking in the rest of *A Lifetime of Film*.

Sir Michael was the most thoroughly "British" of British producers. The prewar Gracie Fields and George Formby features: the famous Ealing comedies; the first of the "old new wave"—Richardson, Schlesinger—Sir Michael was financially and, one gathers, to a lesser degree artistically involved with them all. After the dark, inflationary days of the 1950s and early 1960s, and the demise of Ealing, Sir Michael was manipulated upstairs at the formation of a supposedly revamped and "independent" British Lion. He surely tells much less than he knows of the financial and personal feuds that bedeviled the period. If he could have allowed himself just a little more pique, he would have told a more rewarding story, for he defiantly supported the native industry when many others went for the quick dollar.

The earlier days are related with an infuriating impersonality. Sir Michael confesses to an inability to talk about himself; and says that actors have told him that he does not understand acting. Yet, among actors and directors, he worked with Alec Guinness, Hitchcock, Flaherty, Vivien Leigh, Robert Taylor, Robert Hamner and Alexander Mackendrick—most of the major British and some of the American talents of the interwar and early postwar eras. He has very little that is new to say about any of them, although he is honest and affectionate about his relationships, with a few. The anecdotes are mostly laboured and unfunny.

A thorough biography of Balcon might serve as a companion to one of the standard histories of the origins and growth of British cinema. This autobiography comprises disjointed jottings. Except for the last chapter, and some really fine photographs, the book is turgid. Film producers, like knighted diplomats, should write autobiographies only if they are going to give away a few secrets.

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Cause célèbre

SUZANNE LE FLOCH: *Didier Novack fils*. Introduction by René Floriot. 251pp. Paris: La Jeune Parole. 17fr.

Britain can provide painful examples of what happens when natural parents, unheard of for years, suddenly appear to claim a child who, since infancy, has been established in a secure and loving foster home. In France, the battle joined over the head of Didier Novack became a cause célèbre in which figured, on opposing sides of the legal fence Mr. and Mrs. Novack, the country's leading advocate of the present Minister of Education, Edgar Faure. The difference that the child was adopted fostered. It led to modification of the French law on adoption, which should prevent the recurrence of a situation. In this instance, eight contradictory legal decisions, natural parents lost in a maze of devoted adoptive mothers, in such cases, the child remains in doubt. Even if the young Didier passed his legal fence Mr. and Mrs. Novack, the country's leading advocate of the present Minister of Education, Edgar Faure. The difference that the child was adopted fostered. 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TLS
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Indivisible

Under the title of *The Visible World* Herbert Spencer's report on his researches into the readability of print has now been made public. Mr. Spencer was appointed a senior fellow at the Royal College of Art to carry out this task under the sponsorship of the International Publishing Corporation, and last summer a preliminary version of his findings was circulated, which he has now revised. Essentially what he has done is to sift and resume a vast mass of previous research in this field, by printers, designers, psychologists, optometrists and a host of practitioners of other disciplines (or indispositions)—nearly 500 papers in all, according to the bibliography at the end. Being himself one of our most forward-looking typographers, he has set his summary in a framework of more or less current preoccupations, providing sections, for instance, on unjustified setting and on "paragraphs and indentation", and finishing with one entitled "towards a new alphabet". The

illustrations, as might be expected of the former editor of *Typographica*, are an outstandingly interesting feature of the book, which is published at 50s. by Lund Humphries in association with the Royal College of Art.

At one end they reproduce a number of unfamiliar nineteenth-century experiments, such as J. Millington's idea of running alternate lines mirrorwise, so that the eye moves evenly to and fro like the shuttle in a loom, or reading the words off in vertical columns, starting from the right. At the other they show various new alphabets designed for the cathode-ray tube or other electronic reading apparatus, on the principle that the norm in lettering, originally derived from carving and then from penmanship, will soon be the photo-electronic letter. The introduction points out, very rightly, that questions of spacing and layout too can no longer be considered only in the light of the printed page but need to take account of the television screen and the microfilm viewer. In short Mr. Spencer raises a number of basic questions, which anybody concerned with written communications would do well to take note of. Two in particular are worth stressing: the disproportion between the amount of material conveyed in this form and that portion of it which is actually needed by the reader; and the new opportunities for "the arrangement of words with visual logic rather than as continuous prose".

It is difficult however to overlook the fact that it is the job of research not just to ask intelligent questions but to investigate possible answers. This is where *The Visible World*, alas,

falls down. To begin with, the existing research results which it summarizes are not always considered very critically—thus the unjustified setting of the *Kottbusch-Niemens-Bad* is illustrated, but without any mention of the editorial drawbacks which led to that paper's modification, while failure to distinguish paragraphs clearly is not nearly strongly enough condemned. Secondly, there is no kind of historical or bibliographical guide to such researches, which would give the interested reader some idea who originated them and why, or quite simply what the main directions of inquiry have been in the past half-century or so. M. A. Tinker, for example, had a hand in about twenty per cent of the papers listed in the bibliography, but there is no word to say who he is, or whether he himself ever drew more general conclusions from his studies.

The real pity however is that at the most interesting points in his argument Mr. Spencer seems to abdicate. Thus the new alphabets at the end are put before us without critical discussion: the slogan "towards a new alphabet" is propounded without any indication what the object is of some of the odder innovations—the standardization of letter widths for example—or how they actually work. The notion of a new kind of discontinuous prose is illustrated only by Stefan Themerson's spatially wasteful concept of "internal justification" and by a so-called "square-span style of presentation" which one experiment allegedly showed to be "superior" to conventional typography, though without any clue as to how. The part played

in book-type publication, adjuncts as the index, the heads and even the folio number, not mentioned, vital though as aids to picking out the portion. Clarity of language, use of punctuation to disambiguate are huge factors which are mentioned.

Is it stretching the word-legibility too much to suggest that it is a weakness? Not in our words. Legibility is indivisible; whether it is bad light, size, exerting prove or phasing thinking that turns the reader from the page, or (more) number of such factors in operation. What does matter is to find the most efficient way of our evolving technology, of conveying a message to the reader who tackle this problem, Mr. Spencer, from the typographer need to be reminded how imaginative use of language can contribute to its solution. Co-writers who want to see their work develop need more and more the factors involved in the printing and reproduction of work. For them, admitting *Visible Word* (which is a typewriter-set, with considerable grace) is likely to be of the fascination. But what study of style, syntax, punctuation and editing which will give typographers some idea of the contribution "towards a prose"? It is certainly not found in Mr. Spencer's book. Is their contribution then visible? Writers, we all know, "invent". Do they ever resist

H. M. Hyndman

Sylvia Pankhurst

Communitists in Britain

more than a prologue to a closer study of the war years and the actual foundation of the Communist Party in 1919-21. He has used the Cabinet Minutes and Papers which are now available for this period at the Public Record Office, and has also examined the private collections of several of the Marxist or Communist leaders, such as John Maclean, J. T. Walton Newbold, Sylvia Pankhurst and Jack Tanner. He has been able to get in touch with several survivors of the period, among them persons who acted as couriers between the Comintern and Britain. These sources provide a good deal of fascinating evidence about the development of the movement in the earliest years when war weariness gripped the working class and revolution spread throughout Europe.

Mr. Kendall shows that the pre-Communist Marxist left in Britain contained some very disparate elements. There was the British Socialist Party, in which a group of Russian Jewish exiles, passionately anti-Tsarist, helped to overthrow the old leadership under H. M. Hyndman which was supporting the war; there was the Socialist Labour Party, especially strong on Clydeside and active among the engineering shop stewards, yet owing its inspiration to the American Marxist Daniel DeLeon; there was the Workers' Socialist Federation, a body largely dependent upon Sylvia Pankhurst's agitation in the East End of London; and there was the South Wales Socialist Society, the outgrowth of syndicalist sympathies among the Welsh miners. These groups, in Mr. Kendall's opinion, would never have united into a single party without the skilful deployment of financial inducements by the Russian leaders, for they differed profoundly on such questions as whether to use parliamentary methods to attain power, and what the role of the trade unions should be.

The first representative of the Bolshevik government in Britain was Maxim Litvinov, who was granted certain diplomatic facilities by the Foreign Office, and who employed as his secretary a member of the B.S.P. executive, Joseph Fineberg. Litvinov was arrested in September, 1918, and deported; and his place was taken, clandestinely, by Theodore Rothstein, who was also a member of the B.S.P. executive. Both Fineberg and Rothstein had been born in Russia, and their first loyalty was to the new regime. Rothstein indeed was to become Russian ambassador to Teheran, but his son Andrew served in the British movement. In

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Books received

Art

DEBORN, DENNIS. *Art in Africa*. 39pp. 51pp. of plates. Paul Hamlyn, 17s. 6d.

For its comparatively modest price this is an excellent brief introduction to African art from the south of the Sahara. Its fifty-one colour plates and nine black-and-white illustrations are well selected although regrettably few of them show art objects in their natural setting. The objects illustrated range from a beautiful two thousand-year-old terracotta Nok head to a recent painting of a weird mythological bird by the Yoruba artist Twins Seven Seven. But what distinguishes the book is the brilliant text by Dennis Deborn which explains lucidly and intelligently the social background of African traditional art.

DEBORN, DENNIS. *Art in Africa*. 39pp. 51pp. of plates. Paul Hamlyn, 17s. 6d.

These new titles in a satisfying series are 8 1/2 inches square and contain approximately thirty colour reproductions of varying sizes, admirably placed in an agreeably written French text.

The Hermitage, Leningrad: French 19th Century Masters. Introduction and notes by A. N. Izergina and the Staff of the State Hermitage, Leningrad. 20pp. 90 plates. Paul Hamlyn, 24s.

The paintings selected in this book which is a joint Prague-Leningrad production start with the fine 1821 Ingres portrait of Count Gurjev and end with (Le Douanier) Rousseau's 'Luxembourg Gardens' of 1909. There is no Géricault and the Goussier is quite unrepresentative. About three-fourths of the works are by Impressionist or Post-Impressionist masters.

The sensibly written introduction tells us something about the famous Russian collectors Koushelev-Borodko, Morozov, and Shchukin but little about the French art they collected which is now displayed in twenty-four rooms of the Leningrad Hermitage. Anyone searching for a fresh interpretation of French nineteenth-century painting will not find it in the old-fashioned text and notes which accompany the ninety unexciting colour plates of this book.

Biography and Memoirs

HART, SUSANNE. *Life with Dakari*. 224pp. Bles, 36s.

In *Too Short a Day* the author described her work as a veterinary surgeon in Africa. Now still in Africa but with a second husband, who is also a vet, she extends her interests to animal programmes on the air, her husband's researches, the work of the game warden and a dozen other activities concerned with the fauna. Inevitably the book suffers from being too diffuse but the writer remains essentially a vet, for ever nursing a sick cheetah in the bathroom when she is not operating on an injured lion in the bush.

WYNN, ALLAN. *The Fortunes of Samuel Wynn*. 236pp. Cassell, £2 5s.

The history of the Australian wine industry is already on the way to being well documented and this biography tells the story of a Polish Jewish immigrant who more than fifty years ago determined to secure a foothold in the young Australian wine trade. He began by being a bar and restaurant owner in Melbourne and has ended up as the proprietor of the celebrated Coonawarra estate and the head of a well-known wine concern with several hundred employees. Although formally a biography, written by the subject's son, it is much more of a sketch of life in the less sophisticated Melbourne of the 1920s and 1930s when that city was emerging from colonial provincialism. The author also provides an objective if incomplete record of the haphazard development of the Australian wine industry in a period when Australian wine meant sweet fortified wine of inconsistent quality, when the industry was largely dependent on United Kingdom de-

mand, and when many respectable table wine vineyards went out of production.

The picture of Samuel Wynn is an engaging one of a modest, simple and generous man who made his way by hard work and straight dealing. He sold sound wine cheaply. Although not religious, in later life he became one of the leading advocates of Zionism in his adopted country, and nearly half the book is taken up with his struggles to assist the establishment of the Jewish National Home. Inevitably this is both less interesting to the general reader and more controversial in its standpoint. The son writes about the father with charm and impartiality, but his frequent use of the past tense suggests that his father is no longer alive, although this impression is intermittently corrected.

QVO, SHAY. *In the Presence of Death: Antonio Ordóñez*. 20pp. Barrie and Rockliff: The Cresset Press, £3 3s.

Not everyone will be able to keep up the highest of high seriousness which Shay Qvo accords her subject. Friend of Hemingway, son of Niño de Palma, brother-in-law of Louis Miguel Domínguez, Antonio Ordóñez has lived at the centre of the bull-fighting cult, and is one of the most notable practitioners in the more restrained traditional manner, which this book defends with ferocity against the new brutality of El Cordobés. The photographs are large, relevant, dramatic, in colour and black-and-white, and on virtually every page.

Economics

ALEXANDER, K. I. W., KIM, A. G. and RYBANSKI, T. M. (Editors). *The Economist in Business*. 193pp. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, £2 2s.

First and worthwhile study of the employment of economists in our industries, commerce and government bodies based on surveys for the Business Economics Group, covering preparation of economists for such posts, the part payable by business schools, &c., and with eleven chapters by leading economists, consultants and practitioners expounding and describing their jobs, including the well-known editors (as above) plus Professor Ball and Professor Alexander, and Mewar, Allen Sykes, J. A. Clay, W. F. Luttrell and Ralph Turvey.

BLUTH, C. A. *American Business Cycles*. 301pp. Allen and Unwin, £2 12s.

Useful analysis of factors in such cycles between 1945 and 1950, an important period of unwinding from war to peace, by a specialist in the uses of statistics with much experience in the United States, Australia and New Zealand, now deputy director of the National Institute of Economic and Social Research.

Education

MUSGRAVE, P. W. *Society and Education in England since 1800*. 152pp. Methuen, 25s. (Paperback, 12s. 6d.)

Here is an admirable description of the interaction between society and education since the beginning of the last century. Dr. Musgrave sounds slightly out of breath as in such a short space he moves towards the present day with its mass of economic statistics and Government reports, but he is particularly good at showing that social pressures led first towards the evolution of a single educational system and then concentrated on how to make that system fair.

PETERS, R. S. (Editor). *Perspectives on Plowden*. 106pp. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 16s. (Paperback, 8s.)

The honeymoon period for the Plowden Report on primary education is over: the basic thinking behind the Report, if not its immediate administrative recommendations, is here swingingly criticized. Richard Peters makes a good case for a more empirical approach to teaching which does not rely exclusively on either the rote mass instruction, Robert Dearden lucidly unearths what Plowden said and should have said on educational aims. The Report's psychological shortcomings, particularly on the concept of learning, are exposed by Brian Foss and its sociological defects by Basil Bernstein and Brian Davies. Lionel Elvin sums up the nub of their arguments when he asks for the primary school teacher to be someone who thinks of himself as acting positively. And the

last sentence of this controversial but constructive book tells us unequivocally that in Plowden 'An opportunity has been missed'.

History

BROWN, M. D. *David Salomons*. 184pp. Obtainable from the Jewish Historical Society, 33 Seymour Place, London, W.1. 6s.

The Victorians had a habit of striking medals and medallions to commemorate any notable event, whether of the nation or of the family. This book, printed privately, is a catalogue of the mementoes displayed in the Kent home of a famous Anglo-Jewish family, of which the heads in three generations were named David Salomons. It makes a unique chapter of social history. The first David Salomons, 1797-1877, was the outstanding protagonist for Jewish political rights in Great Britain, and became in turn the first Jewish Sheriff of the City of London, then Lord Mayor, then M.P. He preserved not only every medal, badge, and document connected with his career, but also letters from famous persons, such as Garibaldi, Millais, and Wilkie Collins, or from members of the leading Jewish families, who were linked with him by marriage.

The second head, his nephew, had different interests. He was a scientific inventor of international reputation, a pioneer in the use of electricity for domestic and industrial purposes. His home was described as a modern magician's cave with electricity as the good genie. The third head, who had the names David Reginald Herman Philip Goldsmid Stern, was an engineer officer; he was drowned off Mudros in the First World War, and the male line came to an end.

Every item in the collection of more than 500 is carefully described by Mr. Brown; and where pertinent an historical note is added.

DUTTA, KALIKRISHNA. *The Dutch in Bengal and Bihar, 1740-1825*. 200pp. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidas, Rs. 10.

Dr. Dutta's study, first published in 1949 and long out of print, now appears in a revised and enlarged edition. It is recognized as the standard authority on the fortunes of the Dutch in India from the middle of the eighteenth century to the final cessation of their possessions in 1824. It provides some valuable sidelights both on Anglo-Dutch relations in the time of Warren Hastings and upon the final frustration of Dutch aspirations to build an empire in India.

JONES, GWYN. *The Legendary History of Olaf Trygvasson*. 38pp. Glasgow: Jackson, 8s. 6d.

Professor Gwyn Jones's W. P. Kerr memorial lecture, delivered in Glasgow University last year, is spiced with dry humour and almost as entertaining to read as it must have been to hear. Not much is left of the Viking hero as an historical personage when Professor Gwyn Jones has picked his way through the sagas and chronicles. This 'obscurely illustrious figure' has delighted readers for almost a thousand years and only now is the legend-makers' work 'being ruthlessly and for my part regrettably undone'.

WARD, CLIVE A. W. *A Bibliography of the History of Industry in the West Riding of Yorkshire, 1750-1914*. 54pp. Leeds Philosophical and Literary Society. (J. Taylor, Department of History, The University, Leeds.)

The classified list, which includes many works published within the last few years, covers the period from the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution to the outbreak of the First World War. General industrial histories, directories, histories of West Riding towns, of transport, and of individual industries are listed in turn, and there are indexes of names and subjects.

Librarianship

BURKETT, JACK. *Special Libraries and Documentation Centres in the Netherlands*. 103pp. Oxford: Pergamon Press, £3 3s.

A general review of librarianship in the Netherlands is followed by studies of the organization of a number of libraries in three classes of institution: government library and information services; technological uni-

versities and the industrial and research libraries and documentation services. The author is the senior lecturer in the School of Librarianship at Ealing Technical College and his book is volume 9 in the International Series of Monographs in Library and Information Science.

WALLS, A. P. (Editor). *International Library Directory*. 1,222pp. A. P. Walls Organization, 113 12s. 6d.

The third edition of this very comprehensive Directory, with more than 5,000 new entries, mainly from the developing countries. The symbols in the entries indicate the type of library and the subject it covers, periodicals as well as books, and in what languages. Random checking indicated a high degree of up-to-date accuracy with only minor errors, due perhaps to a fault on the right side, the inclusion of too much, rather than too little. Harbours, for instance, is listed as a public library. Quicker reference would be helped if running titles indicated the geographical divisions, at any rate in the larger national systems; and the listing of United Kingdom and Irish county library headquarters simply under the county town could also be a stumbling block to some users.

Railways

TUPLIN, W. A. *British Steam since 1900*. 200pp. Newton Abbott: David and Charles, £2 10s.

'What a galaxy of shining, multi-coloured, coal-consuming, dirt-producing locomotive engines did the railways of Britain exhibit to the fascinated amateur', writes Dr. Tuplin, perhaps the most intelligent, undazzled, and readable of contemporary railway writers. He is the ideal blend of engineer and steam enthusiast who discusses with knowledge and a nice irony the development and follies of de vapeur of the twentieth century like the obsessions with tractive effort, big boiler pressures and sheer speed (the engines did not go unscathed in those famous 120 m.p.h. sprints). It was often a matter of prestige and 'company face' all those cylinders, funnels, and

streamlined trappings. Men wanted was a real job that did not choke a death but hardly anyone consult the chap who did and maintained.

Social Studies

CHILL, CRISPIN. *Plymouth and Charles*. 30p.

This is at once a pictorial and a modern city that has risen from time ruins. Pictures and text as well as many photographs tracing the industries, recreation and civic life of the city today.

LEITCH, J. and COCHRAN, J. *Chiefs in Social Systems*. Constable, £2 5s.

This, as its title suggests, is a practical 'exercise' for those who are starting in the social sciences. The fields covered are social psychology, criminology, case-work, the 'exercise' covering particular kinds of behaviour, analysing and preparing 'sociograms' of group relationships.

PACKMAN, J. *Child Care: Numbers*. 247pp. Allen Lane, £2 2s.

A valuable exploration of a deprived children in England. Wales. Three broad points examined: how far the death care of children varies in different parts of the country; how far areas provide different levels of care; how far variations in staff attitudes affect the care. The research is not simple answers but a clarification of some complex issues. The Children Act, 1948, and subsequent legislation, the author concludes that there are still anomalies and inequalities.

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